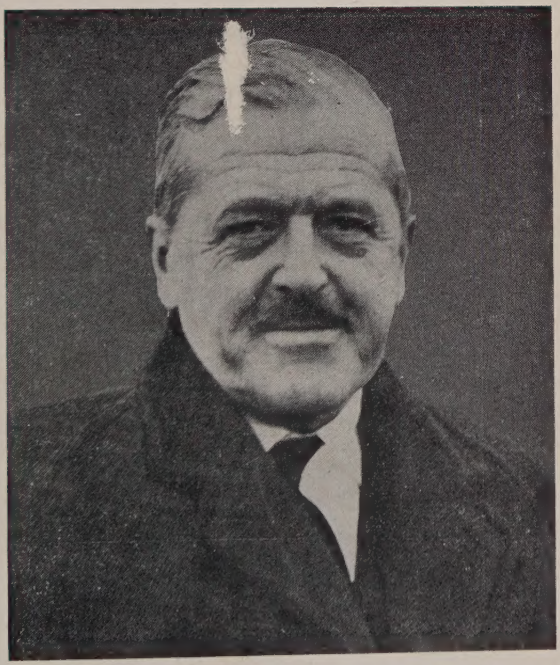
November 1954

Fellowship



GEORGE MACLEOD *Visiting Professor*

30¢

The Way of Peace

by Martin Niemoller

The Way of Peace is an edited version of the much-talked-about address Dr. Martin Niemöller delivered to a select audience on August 26 as the World Council of Churches was assembled at Evanston, Illinois. Readers will find it a profound and truly great statement of pacifist faith, coming as it does from the heart of a former U-boat Commander and a German who not too many years ago was proud of Hitler's revival of the national military establishment. . . . "We want our readers to know that non-violence works as well in the United States as it does in India," wrote Paul Caton and Jack Ross as they sent us their excellent report on the proving of non-violence at a Chicago neighborhood center. . . . In this issue, too, the Fellowship's new "Feed Your Enemies" campaign is discussed in "If Thine Enemy Hunger. . . ."

COVER PHOTO: Looking deceptively harmless is the outspoken Scottish pacifist preacher, George MacLeod, now in this country as the first Harry Emerson Fosdick Professor at Union Theological Seminary, New York. Readers of this magazine will remember that he founded and continues to lead the much-publicized Iona Community, a work-and-prayer retreat center for Scottish ministers serving industrial areas.

FELLOWSHIP

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Modern War—Genetics Division

The *New York Times'* Sunday edition is one of the remarkable phenomena of our age. Besides all its special sections on sports, entertainment, real estate, books, and so on, its main news department alone usually runs to two sections totalling 96 standard-sized pages, and sometimes even more. A few weeks ago,[1] the *Times,* inundated with advertising, ran its news division in three sections, totalling 128 pages, the last 40 or so of which were devoted almost exclusively to weddings, engagements, and obituary notices.

Page One items that day included, among others, the news that the Republican candidate for governor of New York favored the legalization of bingo, an account of more of the doings of the ubiquitous junior senator from Wisconsin, a full column of round-up news on a hurricane that had changed course and consequently done little of news value, and a feature story on the same hurricane that, in the absence of anything more exciting, rhapsodized about how "Edna" tore the leaves off saplings and "created great rain pools in the sheep meadow in Central Park."

On page 117 of the same issue, sandwiched between a girdle advertisement and the news that Miss Linda H. Hall of Bradenton, Florida, had plighted her troth to an interne, was a report that test explosions of nuclear weapons have already started the irrevocable process of gene mutation in

1 Sept. 12, 1954.

unnumbered and unidentified humans, from which the race may expect "a macabre harvest of 'defective individuals' " in the generations to come.

The man making this announcement, which a sane society would spread in streamer heads across its front pages, is Dr. A. H. Sturtevant of the California Institute of Technology, identified by the *Times* as one of the "world's foremost experts on genetics." He made it in an article in the official journal of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and he made it because he was indignant at Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, head of the Atomic Energy Commission, for announcing that there was no biological danger in the tests.

Each test explosion, explained Dr. Sturtevant, increases the "background level" of "high energy radiation," which has a permanent effect on the human genes. No one can tell, now, who has been affected by the explosions at Bikini and in Nevada, or who will be affected by the next explosions, but "there is no possible escape from the conclusion that the bombs already exploded will ultimately result in the production of numerous defective individuals—if the human race itself survives for many generations."

"Every new bomb exploded," adds the geneticist, "since its radioactive products are widely dispersed over the earth, will result in an increase in this ultimate harvest of defective individuals."

Modern War—BW Division

Roughly about the time that Dr. Sturtevant's warning was being made known to readers of girdle ads and the personal friends of Miss Linda Hall, another scientific journal was bringing its readers up to date on biological warfare.

Combining the proper amount of scientific detachment with a nice flavor of patriotic justification, the August 2nd issue of *Chemical and Engineering News* gave BW its full support.

Biological warfare, *C & EN* explained succinctly, is "essentially public health and preventive medicine in reverse." (Think *that* one over for a while if you like to feel cold shudders up and down your spine!) It is handy, inexpensive, and much less messy than A-bombs and H-bombs, since it

kills people and animals and destroys crops without blowing them to bits. It is also hard to detect, an advantage of singular beauty to the strategic mind. ("The effectiveness of BW agents in war is greatly enhanced if they can be used against civilians who have no knowledge of them. The demoralizing effects could be catastrophic.")

Chemical and Engineering News had no misgivings about continuing BW research, in spite of the occasional "hue and cry raised against these 'horror weapons,' " because it had been assured by Maj. Gen. William B. Creasy, chief chemical officer, that the Soviets would not hesitate to use such weapons if it "would benefit their cause in the slightest degree." The United States, therefore, concluded *C & EN* reasonably, "would be remiss if it did not prepare to defend itself against these agents and to use them if we are attacked."

Six weeks later[2] the editor's position was further bolstered by a long letter from an E. T. Carpenter of Chicago, who observed that BW would not only be more effective than H-bombs but also more humane. Many of the countries with which the United States might reasonably expect to find itself at war in the future, his argument ran, operate on a food balance that is "precariously close," so that "the loss of even one crop brings suffering and starvation to large numbers of people even in peacetime." It follows from this that BW, by destroying crops and debilitating people through illness, would soon bring the level of nutrition in such countries down to the point where "the will to fight is gone."

"When this stage is reached," promises Mr. Carpenter humanely, "surrender could reasonably be expected."

The argument is sound. With two or three strategic crops destroyed, and two or three particularly virulent epidemics started among the starving people, it is not unreasonable to suppose that victory might be in our grasp. What a nation that had irreparably destroyed its own soul could do with the victory is another question.

Book Review—I

The best book we have read in a long time—and this embraces political and theological tomes, murder mysteries,

2 Sept. 27, 1954.

and one volume we wrote personally—is Helen Doss' *The Family Nobody Wanted.*[3] The Dosses—Carl is a Methodist minister—live in Southern California and are FOR members, a circumstance on which the FOR can preen itself. Wanting children but unable to have any of their own, the Dosses have adopted a round dozen kids who were classed as "unadoptable," largely because of mixed racial and ethnic backgrounds. The story of the growth of their family is warm and moving; we advise you earnestly not to miss it.

Book Review—II

The second best book we have read in a long time is Helmut Gollwitzer's *Unwilling Journey,*[4] which we got hold of after Dr. Niemöller had commended it as one of the best books on Russia in existence. It is more than that: it is (we think) one of the best books in existence on the kind of spiritual heroism of which a human being is capable.

Dr. Gollwitzer is a German Lutheran minister who "fought" in Hitler's army ("Up till now I had got through this horrible war without using a weapon against anyone, and had I got to make up for it now?"), was captured by the Russians, and spent almost five years as a prisoner in the Soviet Union. His story is a magnificent record of personal sensitivity and courage, an enthralling account of life in a Russian prison camp, and a penetrating analysis of communism as it is practiced in the Soviet Union. With apologies for sounding monotonous—try not to miss it.

Footnote on BW

The World Medical Association, meeting at Rome, approved a resolution condemning bacteriological warfare. As originally worded, the amendment also prohibited doctors from taking any part in bacteriological research "aimed at the preparation of germ warfare weapons," but this section was dropped with the approval of an amendment introduced by the United States delegation.

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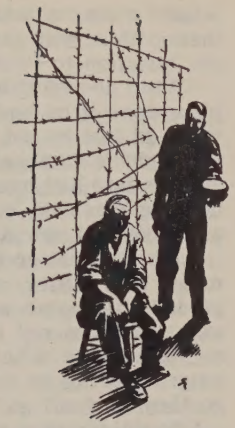
[3] *The Family Nobody Wanted,* by Helen Doss. Little, Brown, 1954. $3.75.

[4] *Unwilling Journey, A Diary from Russia,* by Helmut Gollwitzer. Muhlenberg Press, 1953. $3.50.

The Way of Peace



by Martin Niemoller

A FEW MONTHS AGO the Pope, in an Easter address, spoke a good deal about the H-bomb, and of its nature and consequences, and of how Christians ought to think about it anew, and of how Christians were duty bound to do something about it, that the use of such a weapon should be prevented.

The question arose in the Protestant churches in Germany, whether or not we also should express ourselves about the H-bomb, and in this connection someone asked whether the Pope had not gone too far and had not presented things as certain or very probable that were not certain or very probable.

The question suggested to me the possibility of having a talk on the subject with Germany's three leading nuclear physicists, Professor Otto Hahn, who split the atom in the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in 1937, Professor Heisenberg, and Professor von Weiszacker.

I found the three physicists very much inclined to have such a talk, and so it was arranged, with Bishop Dibelius, Professor Gollwitzer, whose book about Russia some of you may know, and myself.[1] In the course of the resulting conversation, we raised the question of whether or not the Pope had exaggerated in his Easter address. Professor Hahn's answer was simple and to the point.

"He has not exaggerated. It is no real problem today to build a bomb which on going off will make the whole surface of our planet uninhabitable for any human being."

We have known this before. It has been in the papers. But we read the papers without comprehending or taking to heart what we read. In that moment it really came to my heart and to my senses that

1 *Gollwitzer's book has been translated into the English language and certainly is one of the best books about conditions in today's Russia.* —*M. N.*

what these scientists had said meant that war is finished. I put the question to Professor Hahn:

"What do you think Hitler would have done if he had had this bomb when at last he sat in the cellar of the Reich's Chancellory in Berlin, and his fate had overtaken him and nothing was left but to surrender or to commit suicide?"

And he answered what anyone must, that Hitler would have exploded this bomb and would have said, "If I am not to survive with my ideas, the whole world is no longer worthy to exist. If I am to go they may all go."

I doubt whether any government or person who relies on power or force, in the same situation, would act in a different way. That ends the whole discussion about "banning the hydrogen bomb."

"Banning" the Bomb

It may be possible to have a full-fledged world war fought with "classic" or conventional weapons, and use no poison gas, refrain from the bombing of cities, use no atom bombs and no hydrogen bombs, and no warfare of "mass destruction" of any kind such as the big powers have at their command by now. Yet in the end, when one of the two great opponents is cornered and called to unconditional surrender—and unconditional surrender is the objective in modern war—then rather than accept what it regards as "ultimate" evil and betrayal, this nation will resort to the weapon that can obliterate all life. That cannot but mean the end of mankind on the surface of our planet!

So it is no longer possible for any power, by resorting to warfare, to overcome the adversary and so enter into the enemy's heritage. The conqueror will not be the heir, but in the last minute of that war he will perish with his opponent who was the defeated one.

Madness

That means we can no longer debate the question whether war is good or bad, whether there is such a thing as a just war or an unjust war. War—at least between powers that are able to build this bomb as their last resort—has ceased to be a means at all. War is no longer good or bad, just or unjust. However you look at it, war under these circumstances is madness. Madness cannot be characterized by "good" or "bad" or "just" or "unjust." There is no "just madness" and no "unjust madness," no "good madness" and no "bad madness." Madness is simply madness.

That is the point that I want to make very clearly and definitely. We have only two choices left, and these choices were put before us by Professor von Weiszacker.

"I have," he said, " a very good friend of long standing, Professor Teller, who built the H-bomb in the United States. He has undergone all the pricking of conscience which our nuclear physicists are undergoing in our day, but he said to me, 'The Russians will build this bomb anyway, so we must do the same. That is the one way open to us.' But there *is* another way," Dr. Weiszacker added. "The other way is to become pacifists—on principle."

Faced with this one alternative, to choose between those two courses, I prefer to become and meanwhile I have become a pacifist—on principle. It was after this conversation with these physicists

that I wrote to my friend, Professor Siegmund Schultze of Dortmund, that I was now at last joining the Fellowship of Reconciliation as a member.

War is no longer a means of settling any disputes. War is heading for destruction and heading headlong for destruction. Reason, therefore, says there must not be any war. Unfortunately, while man is a reasoning creature, he is not always a reasonable one, and so war can happen by itself, if we don't watch out.

We have to work for peace if we want to prevent war. There is a religious meaning here, you see. People will not go to heaven because of their good deeds, but certainly they will go to hell because of their omissions. I don't find the New Testament elaborating that it is a dangerous thing to do bad, but I find very clearly that it is a very dangerous thing to omit the good deeds that we ought to do. "Inasmuch as you have not done it to one of these least among my brethren, you have not done it unto me."

Prophet of God

A year and a half ago in India I took part in a so-called Gandhi Seminar in New Delhi. There I learned something about the Beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount. When Jesus said, "Blessed are the peacemakers," I have come to see, he really meant it. It is not just a pious and nice-sounding phrase. He meant that the peacemakers are the blessed men in this world under the blessing of God. When the Christian church and Christian world did not do something effective and efficient about peacemaking, God found a prophet of nonviolence in Mahatma Gandhi.

Gandhi became a blessing for his nation and I believe God means that he should become a blessing for the Christian world by causing us to examine ourselves. God calls us to ask ourselves today whether we really are Christians or whether

On German Rearmament

Americans are fond of working with figures. They put down 160 divisions on the Soviet side and then add the French, British and American forces together. Then they put down 12 divisions from Germany and the whole adds up to 167! So they conclude that the West is actually that much stronger. But you see, divisions are not numbers; divisions are human beings. What will these human beings do if and when war really starts?

When war broke out in 1939, it was practically impossible to find in Europe an army that in spite of the big numbers really would fight, because the human beings representing these numbers simply were not inclined to fight. An army that will not fight doesn't mean much in case of a war.

I doubt very much that in the next war human beings who happen to be German will fight. I cannot imagine that German troops on the left bank of the Rhine, having their families and all their relatives on the right side of the Rhine, will fight in the direction of the right bank of the Rhine. It's too much to ask of them. Hitler, I think, will turn out to have been the last man in history who could make people in Europe in great numbers fight.

—MARTIN NIEMOLLER

we are using the words of Jesus Christ written on a banner to lead the Christian army in exactly the opposite direction from the one He pointed out: hearing the words and hearing not the meaning of the words, and certainly not acting according to these words. Christianity is not the hope of the world; Christ is the hope of the world. We may even say that Christianity has been a doom to the world for the last two thousand years, not because of Christ but because of the so-called Christian people who quoted Christ but did not follow him.

Christ has said clearly that the only means of overcoming enmity is by friendliness, that the bad can be overcome only by good and not by retaliation. That was Gandhi's way of renunciation of force. He has demonstrated that in a "hopeless" situation other means than violence can be devised to achieve something for the bettering of this world of ours.

I do not see in the New Testament any encouragement for the use of force. But that seems to be forgotten in the Christian community all over the world and there are only small groups, such as the Fellowship of Reconciliation, that have tried to live up to what our Lord is expecting from those who bear his name. Their efforts never have been widely successful, though a little more so in this part of the world than in the old countries of Europe. There, being a pacifist meant at the same time to be a bad Christian. To be called a fellow-traveler was the mildest of the bad words used of Christian pacifists.

In this connection, let me say a word about working with other peace organizations. How far may we go with those who are working for peace from political views we do not share? I have attended a couple of meetings of the World Peace Council, whose reputation is not too good. A few days before one of these, at a Berlin conference on East-West relations, I said: "I am a Christian, not a Communist. I know that the World Peace Council is supported by Russian money, but I would rather the Russians spend their money on fostering the World Peace Council than on building tanks and bombers."

The papers did not print this remark. It is too dangerous, you see. But it really is my conviction that a co-working of all forces for peace is needed in these times. I even think that by the grace of God and to the confounding of men—this is a theological phrase in Germany, therefore I use it—this Council has done a lot of good in the past few years.

I doubt if there would have been an armistice in Korea without the World Peace Council. It created in a good many countries an atmosphere that made it impossible for politicians simply to leave the con-

ference table and end negotiations. They really have aroused a public opinion for peace in Russia and China, for example. You go to Moscow today and you take a taxi, and you get into a talk with your driver. The first thing he will speak of is peace and war. And I think if you go to China today, to Red China, and you question anybody as to his most burning interest, he will tell you without hesitancy, What about peace and war?

Lord of History

God works not only through the instruments that deem themselves worthy, as we do in the Christian world, but also through the ungodly instruments. Everybody and everything has to serve His ends because He is the Lord of history, and because He has given power to His Son, to Jesus Christ, to whom all power belongs in heaven and on earth. Therefore, even a man like Hitler or even a man like Stalin or Malenkov is an instrument of God, and God will use him just as long as He wants to use him and then will let him disappear from the scene. So I think God has used this World Peace Council to influence public opinion on war and peace in just those parts of the world of which we are most afraid.

I do not mean that I am in agreement with the World Peace Council. I have spoken out very clearly when I attended its sessions as a visitor—and a welcome visitor, I must declare—and I always have made the point: you cannot have peace and at the same time preach hatred. As long as you preach hatred of Adenauer, you are not promoting peace, but quite a different thing. You must not say that you want or demand peace from everybody, for the way of Christ is not to demand but to offer peace.

I think that is also the way of his Church—it has to be the way of his Church—to offer peace. If God had waited with his reconciliation and his reconciliatory action until we were prepared to become reconciled we would still be waiting today and we would wait till Judgment Day. He offered his peace in Christ Jesus, and the way to put into action the love of Christ is to love our enemies. That is not just a sentimental matter but that is the way God brings about good things in his world and development for the better among the human beings on this globe. Certainly that is a difficult thing, and certainly it is not according to our natural inclinations.

Unholy Bernard

There is no such thing as a holy war. The Crusades of the medieval times were not Christian actions at all. They were answering the attack of Islam in Europe with the same means with which Islam tried to expand. The era of the Crusades was the era of the Moslemization of Christianity—nothing but this. I think very highly of Saint Bernard, but his cry, "God wills it," calling men to war on Moslems, was anything but Christian. At that moment, he was the most unholy "Holy Bernard." A crusade is unholy even if you put a cross on the banner and put a cross on your breast and put on your belt the words, "God with us," as was done in the time of Adolf Hitler as well as in the time of the Prussian kings.

Today we are getting a second lesson on this point and I pray that we really learn this lesson once for

all. There is only one "crusade," and that is the way of Jesus from Gethsemane to the palace of Pilate and Herod and to the court of the high priest, and from there to Calvary, carrying his cross. That is the crusade. We Christians are called upon to follow in this crusade and in no other, because every other crusade is not of him but is from a different source. We may think we do good in making these "crusades," but we don't.

Only Hope

Christians met in Evanston last summer to think of Christian hope. There is no Christian hope in a crusade. There is no Christian hope in retaliation or in inflicting force on other people. There is no promise of God for doing this, there is no hope in doing this, but there is a hope in following Christ. That means in offering peace even by means of your own suffering. In our days Gandhi has shown this to a great part of the world, and I wish that Christians would not be the last group of men and women in the world to learn this lesson that God is teaching us through this prophet.

The Christian hope is in following Christ on this way of offering peace even where you have to suffer for this offering. It is better to endure bad things and bad treatment than to impose bad things and bad treatment on anybody else. That is the way of Christ. "Whoever will follow me and take up his cross and really follow me." Not as we have been accustomed—taking the cross only when we can't avoid it—but deliberately following: this is the way of hope. To follow Christ really means to meet Christ when he comes. We will not meet him, we shall miss him, if we are not willing to follow him.

That is the only message I have—a conviction I learned not so early in my life. I have been blamed for changing my convictions so often in my life. I was a professional officer in the First World War. Even when I quit the service in 1920 and went into the ministry I did not become a pacifist and speak out against war. I confess that I thought it was one of the very few good deeds of Hitler that he gave the German nation an army again in 1935—as late as that even! But I have learned better in later years, and I think I have learned better even in the last two years, and now I am nearly 63 and I think it will be the case that God will go on teaching me lessons. It is not a sign of bad character when you change your mind, but it is a sign of good character if you change your conviction when you are convinced that you are wrong. That is the lesson that as Christians and Christian churches we have to learn today, that we shall have to change our minds in many, many things.

Second Conversion

I recall the time when I knew that something had happened to me. Usually I call it my second conversion. In the concentration camp one of those black-uniformed men came into my cell every day to put my meal before me. Usually I did not look at this man, and I felt relief when he was out of the cell again, and I thought, "He is a son of the devil. I have nothing to do with him, and I have no responsibility for him. Nobody can help him."

It took God a very long time to teach me a lesson. It was only after more than four years of imprisonment that it dawned upon me that this black-uniformed man coming into my cell with whom I did not want to have any relations, nevertheless was one for whom Christ had died, and that I really could not firmly believe and rely upon the fact that Christ had died for me if I refused to acknowledge that Christ had died for him also. Ever since I came to know this, I have learned a good deal and you understand that if you are convinced of such a truth you have to change your mind, even if, like Nicodemus, you have in the meantime become quite an old man.

You have to learn your lesson and you have to be re-born. It is, after all, not too much that you have changed your conviction. No, your conviction, your newly given conviction, it has changed and will change you. The Lord will change you and in this being changed by the Lord in the direction of his teaching and of his action is our real hope. This possibility of being changed in the direction of Christ's will for us is the hope not only for the individual but this is the hope for mankind.

"Blessed are the peacemakers." They are really blessed here and now, in this world. We have to strive for peace and to do so we have to follow Christ and his counsel and his example. And we may rely upon him. He never has disappointed anybody who has really and with conviction put his trust in him.

All mankind in our age have split up into units; they all keep apart, each in his own groove; each one holds aloof, hides himself and hides what he has, from the rest, and ends by being repelled by others and repelling them. He heaps up riches by himself and thinks, "how strong I am now and how secure," and in his madness he does not understand that the more he heaps up, the more he sinks into self-destructive impotence. For he is accustomed to rely upon himself alone and to cut himself off from the whole; he has trained himself not to believe in the help of others, in men and in humanity, and only trembles for fear he should lose his money and the privileges that he has won for himself. Everywhere in these days men have, in their mockery, ceased to understand that true security is to be found in social solidarity rather than in isolated individual effort. But this terrible individualism must inevitably have an end, and all will suddenly understand how unnaturally they were separated one from another. It will be the spirit of the time, and people will marvel that they have sat so long in darkness without seeing the light. . . .

—Fyodor Dostoyevsky, in The Brothers Karamazov

Nonviolence and the Neighborhood Center

by Paul W. Caton and Jack C. Ross

ACT I, SCENE I—

Jerry snatches a coke bottle out of the rack and throws it angrily against the window pane of the minister's office. He runs along the hall and down the stairs. He throws open the door. He seizes a lantern and dashes it to the pavement. Burning with rage, he walks furiously down the street.

A few minutes later the phone rings in the office. A church worker has seen Jerry.

"He's looking for trouble all over the neighborhood. I might be able to help him if I can get free of my other duties."

"Go ahead," is the answer. "Do what you can."

Long after midnight he calls again from a distant part of the city. Jerry has walked almost eight miles before the intensity of his fury has exhausted his body and he has crawled into an empty truck to sleep. All the while the worker has been there, sometimes listening, sometimes advising, but mostly just walking with him as he wandered over the neighborhood and then south along the highway.

ACT I, SCENE II—(Three years later, in front of the same church-neighborhood center)

Another teen-ager is discoursing to another staff member upon the virtues of stern discipline, with reference to an incident earlier that evening.

"You always let people run all over you. Why did you let that

kid slug you? He'll never learn any respect for his elders that way. Look at Jerry. I saw him once leave Mr. James lying bloody on that floor, yet now he's one of the nicest guys in the whole neighborhood. Just show me the man that tamed him."

The church worker manages a smile despite his bruised jaw, as he sees that the teen-ager has answered his own question.

The teen-ager, revealing his faith in the power of violence, typifies the modern urban dweller. The bruised church worker represents an opposite but growing point of view: nonviolence is a way of putting the power of the Gospel message into action by meeting the products of a coercive and violent urban society with love as a curative and enriching weapon.

We write from experience gained in a large midwestern city, but the scene of our drama could be set in any American city. In every great city are the ugly areas we call "slums," where adolescents grow to adulthood in an atmosphere permeated with the assumption that violence and coercion are the only ways of life that will work for them. Yet here, too, are the churches, settlements, and neighborhood centers, which try to show that love and respect for individuals is a better way. Where they have succeeded, they have validated the principles of nonviolence that are basic to all social work.

Why does urbanization[1] so often lead to violence? Urbanization means specialization. It means efficiency in economics. It means production first, humans second. It means cities of smoke and dirt; streets where the rumble of trucks never ceases. It means depersonalization. It is synonymous with

coercion as a means of social organization. It means strong, and usually corrupt, government. It means cheap land for factories, and for factory workers who live next to the factories. Urbanization often means poor houses on cheap land, and poor people crowded into cheap houses. Urbanization brings the agonizing proximity of Gold Coast and slum.

Everything is crowded. One does not have enough free space of movement to prevent social friction. Frustration is the natural result of city living because there is not enough room to allow creative activity. Coercive social organization challenges the democratic process. The movement grows to and from national government.

David Riesman[2] has given us a good conceptual tool for under-

[1] We speak of urbanization as a process. It is at work in both city and country.

[2] David Riesman, Nathan Glazer and Ruel Denney, *The Lonely Crowd*, Doubleday, New York, 1953.

standing the social character that is evolving among us. He delineates three types. (1) *Tradition-directed:* a vanishing type in which actions of the individual follow set traditions, ceremonies and rites. (2) *Inner-directed:* a child is given principles and basic ideas to live by; these are inviolable to him and he meets new experiences in terms of previous principles. (3) *Other-directed:* the person has values only in interaction with others; the group is his source of morality and his clue to expected action; he is sensitive to the mass media of communication; he leaves his family early and has many friends in a wide but shallow social environment. The other-directed social character is rapidly becoming dominant in America, particularly in our big cities, where the coercive social organization finds an easy acceptance by millions of other-directed people.

Into this coercive society we place an institution for the purpose of filling social needs of individuals. It claims to represent the Judeo-Christian view of life founded upon justice, love and non-coercion. People in the neighborhood of the institution need it. Often they are starved for love in their family life, and the church or neighborhood center offers it. But our urbanization turns out millions who are unable to accept love. Not having had enough love from the very beginning, they often seek to destroy the giver who represents in person their own inability to love.

The other-directed person, often tragically, finds personal situations where his other-direction is inadequate for his problems. The crisis comes when the other-directed individual, a product of the coercive system, comes up against the conscious expression of love in the person of the institution's staff members: group workers, ministers, social workers, or counselors.

ACT II—

Bob has been on an orgy of violence. Months of it. Much of it has been directed against the church, for there he knew he would not get retaliation. It has come to a showdown: he stands in the office and faces the staff worker. He argues vigorously and profanely. He is on the verge of violence, as an habitual way of response to a problem. He pulls out a knife and turns it toward the staff worker. The staff worker responds with an unexpected outer calmness.

Bob brings the knife closer.

"Put it away, Bob. You have no reason to be afraid of me."

"I ain't afraid of you."

"Of course you're afraid, or you wouldn't try to destroy me."

The staff member slowly turns his back to the boy and arranges some books on the shelf so that he can find a way to work off his own fear-response. Bob snaps the knife shut and quickly walks out.

Act II teaches us a great deal about nonviolent crisis. The receiver of potential violence can often get to the heart of the antagonist's problem with a word or a phrase. Nevertheless, he cannot depend upon tricks for any lasting success. His attitude is the most significant thing—the best his preparation can do is prepare him for creative activity when the correct

time comes. This preparation is spiritual rather than tactical.

He may take a leap of faith and turn his back on the antagonist. It was the staff member in Act II who was the more afraid of the two. However, his love was greater than his fear, whereas the fear of the antagonist took the form of hate and so generated an unbearable fear, which led him toward violence.

The staff member was an inner-directed man, and so he became a man in tension—tension between his psychological reaction to imminent danger, and his philosophical acceptance of nonviolence to an antagonist. His faith in the ultimate goodness of man made him expose his defenseless back to Bob's knife, but the necessity of unseen trembling also led him to turn it. So let us dispel a common notion that our *satyagrahi* is a fearless man, bent upon getting his head whacked to save his cause. He merely understands his own fear, and knows how to deal with it, and even uses it at times to his own advantage.

Having taken a stand on matters of violence, in his commitment to himself, to God, and to his associates, the nonviolent person becomes a man in tension. He knows the potential sources of violence about him. He can see violence coming, and the knowledge of its coming advances the tension. One staff worker reports that he felt much better after being hit by a hostile youth—the tension was gone and a definite pain replaced it. The tension, if it continued, might bring him to violence to ease his own psychological evolvement. The tension is less welcome than physical injury, which might ease the tension by making the assailant a friend. Buying new teeth is preferable to living with an uneasy conscience.

Here is a powerful case against the pessimistic view of the nature of man in much contemporary religious writing. The central theme that man cannot ultimately do good because he always becomes fearful and anxious pervades much of this writing. But our experience has led us to believe that the fundamental emotions of fear and anxiety lead the *satyagrahi* to the nonviolent crisis more quickly and more effectively. He can and does do good, with the "sin" of anxiety as his tool as well as his obstacle.

And what happens to the violent one in the crisis? We do not really know. Some things we can say, though. He comes to the realization of the failure of his way of living. For one time, his total reliance upon violence for a solution to problems fails. Worse than failing, it turns upon him with a fury worse than the original violence, for the failure to succeed continues to pain him long after the original violence has vanished. If he has come to a really major personal crisis, he may be in for a long period of reorientation to society; he has for the time being become a person without self-reliance, even if it was self-reliance based upon a "system" of violent living.

The *satyagrahi* who involves himself in the process of bringing an evil-doer to a crisis and dealing with it by nonviolence, may himself do evil if he is not prepared to take responsibility for the personality-fission of the person he "helps." Taking this responsibility seriously is the strong point of the social work field. Weak in its ob-

session with wages and professionalism, it is strong here where most nonviolence practitioners are the weakest.

We must realize what happens to a person who is dealt with by means of nonviolence. Nonviolence is coercion. It forces a person to come to terms with the evil in himself. If that "evil" is the thorough internalization of a system of social controls, tearing it out by the roots in a crisis of nonviolence may leave the victim without a social self to live by. Many of our "juvenile delinquents," contrary to popular belief, are well-adjusted individuals—well adjusted to their peers in a small and nearly complete social system. When they become maladjusted to this system by an act of nonviolence, they may be worse off than they were before, unless a substitute society is ready for them to step into.

ACT III, SCENE I—

Jim has lived near the settlement all his life. He has a long record of violent acts. The police know him well—robbery, car-stealing, breaking and entering, rape and so on. Several ministers have tried to deal with him. In 1950, at the age of 20, he comes into conflict with the settlement workers again. He forces his way into the office, after money, or perhaps revenge. After a bitter tirade, he pulls out a gun and points it at the staff worker. The answer puzzles him: "That thing doesn't scare me—I know you're too good a man to use it." He does not put it away immediately —the shame he has does not allow a loss of face by such a sudden change. But the steam is gone in one positive act of confidence in his better self.

ACT III, SCENE II—(A few weeks later)

A board of directors meeting is in progress. The sound of breaking glass disturbs them and the staff worker goes into the hall to investigate. Jim is throwing bottles against the cement wall. The staff worker hooks elbows with him and walks resolutely down the hall toward the door. Jim wraps his heavy belt around his fist, with the buckle on the outside and begins to beat the staff worker about the head with it. The steady progress toward the door continues. Jim breaks away and runs, bewildered and ashamed at what he has done. The worker returns to the meeting. The board members notice the blood on his collar. When they learn the story, they berate him for letting people take advantage of him.

ACT III, SCENE III—(Six months later)

Jim opens the door and enters cautiously.

"Can I come back?"

"Why, of course you can. You could have come back the next day."

Something has happened to Jim. Suddenly he is ready to cooperate. Progress is rapid now as the worker finds worthwhile things for him to do. Jim has a good many things to learn about getting along with people—he has twenty years of bad experience to re-live.

ACT III, SCENE IV—(1954)

Jim is active leader of a neighborhood boys' club. He meets a group of visitors on the stairs, and explains about his work.

"You got to treat 'em good. Slapping 'em around don't help none. Treat 'em good and they act right."

Jim is lucky. He has had his crisis with a man who understands the necessity for personality reconstruction after the crisis of nonviolence. But most of the credit goes to him. He did his own personality reconstruction, as it must always be. He was fortunate that he could find help in the man he had struck—the final removal of guilt six months after the violence was as important as the blows themselves. Then he could go ahead; opportunities for responsibility in a growing degree of difficulty; long hours of counselling when the staff member listened empathetically; a growing feeling of being wanted in a new social environment; the final responsibility of being entrusted with the lives of others. But he went ahead because he knew he had good in him. He had not shot his friend when he could have. He knew he was a valuable individual, because the man he had struck had not struck back—he knew his own worth as an individual because a man had valued him so much that he had not struck him in return.

There is much more to relate, but it cannot all be told at once. How the staff member works nonviolently with groups of the violent, as well as with the individual. How the nonviolent group worker develops a consistent philosophy in his every-day relationship with the violent society. How he puts himself at the focus of the mob-scene. How he finds himself involved in the gang fight. How he is often besieged with feelings of inadequacy for the task, and how God answers his prayers. How disturbed he gets when pacifists seem to spend endless years in argument, in the midst of the opportunity for validation by practice.

My basic faith in the method and spirit of Jesus—of the Cross—holds firm. His faith in the way of love, his rejection of the method of the sword as Satanism—even when used in defense of the most sacred values—held firm, though he gazed on his nation, ground under the heel of a foreign tyrant, upon the skeletons on the wayside crosses of those who had dared lift an arm for liberty, upon Herods who murdered innocents in Bethlehem. I think that history has vindicated him and his way as against both Caesar and Barabbas, and that we do well to hesitate a long time before, in an age so much like his own, we take our place, or advise our fellow-Christians to take their place, at the foot of his cross as unbelievers in its power to overcome evil.

—A. J. Muste, in
Pacifism and Aggression (1935)

"If Thine Enemy Hunger . . ."

The F.O.R. Takes Up a Project

FOUR YEARS AGO, in 1950, a group of F.O.R. members at a pre-Conference retreat in Evanston, Illinois, spent a couple of hours discussing a disastrous flood that had occurred in China, and wondering if there was not some way in which they might persuade the United States government to send relief to the stricken areas. It would be, people pointed out, a chance to try Christian methods of dealing with an "enemy," for a change. "If thine enemy hunger, feed him!"

Nothing much came of the idea at the time, but every once in a while in the intervening years someone would mention it, wistfully. Pacifists like to *do* things, too—constructive things, like helping people who need help, and starting something that might lead in the direction of peace . . .

This year there was another FOR National Conference, and this time it was obvious that the time was ripe. Dr. Eugene Seubert, of St. Louis, came primed with information and enthusiasm. The information fell principally into two categories:

1. China had suffered another flood—far worse than that of four years ago, the worst, perhaps, in China's flood-drenched history. The Yangtse River, fourth largest in the world, had reached a flood crest of 97 feet, inundating more than 250,000 square miles. The stricken area is China's principal rice-producing section, from which comes a major part of China's food. Literally millions had been made homeless; literally multiplied millions face death by starvation.

2. Crops have been heavy in America. The United States has not been able to consume all the food it has raised. Consequently, the United States has the largest surplus of food, purchased by the government to support farm prices, in its history. Granaries, ships of the "mothball fleet," garages and airplane hangars are crammed with America's surplus food.

An interest group met Saturday afternoon, and reported back to the main Conference next morning. The decision was without dissent: a recommendation to the Executive Committee and staff to put major emphasis into an attempt to arouse American public opinion in favor of a plan to offer food to its enemies, rather than bombs. Two

weeks later the national Executive Committee endorsed the project, and appointed a subcommittee to work out details.

The "Why" of the Plan

Fellowship members at the Conference and on the Executive Committee were clear about why Americans, and particularly American Christians, should want to offer food to hungry China.

In the first place, it is *right* to help people who are in trouble. When the problem arises in our own neighborhood, among our own friends and acquaintances, we react with offers of help. When a neighbor is hungry, we give him food, even when we have no surplus ourselves. In the past, Americans have reacted that way on a national level, too. It has only been in the past few years, with the situation complicated by political and "strategic" considerations, that we have talked of withholding food unless we receive something in return, usually in the nature of political alliance.

But Christians have an added incentive. They are not enjoined simply to feed the hungry neighbor or friend; their gospel calls on them to feed the enemy, *because* he is the enemy, and because this is the way in which to overcome enmity without inflicting more harm. "Be not overcome of evil," Paul wrote, "but overcome evil with good."[1]

Most Americans have felt helpless in the midst of the deep confusions of our times. Professing the Christian faith, they have found themselves part of a policy that speaks in terms of "massive retaliation," and that contemplates the possibility of annihilating whole populations in the name of security. Even when they have wanted to find Christian solutions to the recurrent crises, the complexities of the issues have frustrated and confused them.

Here, while some of the technical details are complex, the principles are clear and simple. Millions of Chinese, whose government is now our "enemy," face starvation and death. The United States is rich in surplus food, so much so that we have difficulty in finding room to store it. And Christians, because they follow One who said, "Bless them that curse you," are under the obligation to feed their enemies when they hunger. It is as straightforward as that.

The "Who" of the Plan

Pacifists are not the only Americans who are concerned about feeding the hungry, or about finding Christian ways of dealing with enemies. In the "Food-for-China" campaign they are likely to find themselves with a great many allies among the non-pacifists. The United States recently sent food to both East Germany and Hungary to help feed flood victims in the Danube Basin. And *Life* magazine, in its issue of August 23, devoted a full page to an editorial urging that American surplus food be shipped to China. Entitled "Hunger Makes All Men Brothers," the editorial declared:

"We should send food to China because it would be a Christian act in the oldest and best sense . . ."

Perhaps there are others, individuals and groups, working on the project already. Certainly there will be many more as soon as the movement gets momentum, and pacifists will be happy to see them.

[1] Rom. 12:21.

The "How" of the Plan

The job that needs to be done now is not to arrange to ship the food, but to persuade our government to make the food available. In other words, the first task is to arouse a public opinion that will reassure government officials who may favor such action, and that will counteract the opposition of those who think that military strategy would welcome mass starvation as an ally.

Obviously the FOR cannot do a job of such proportions alone. Its function should be the same as that of a starting motor for a large engine. It can begin the job of alerting communities and churches, neighbors and newspapers. Its members can ask their ministers to preach sermons on the subject and their editors to write editorials. They can communicate their own sentiments to the White House, and urge their neighbors and acquaintances to do the same.

As they do these things, other groups and individuals will join in. If enough of them join, the job may be done, and if that happens a new factor may enter our tense world. It is this for which we pray.

Some Questions and Answers

Q. Just how bad is the flood-famine situation in China?

A. Very bad. The last comparable Yangtse flood, in 1931, left 140,000 persons drowned and ten million homeless. In the famine that followed, 52 million people are reported to have died of starvation. The 1954 disaster is reportedly worse.

Q. How large are U.S. food surpluses?

A. As of September, they included 766 million bushels of wheat, 325 million bushels of corn, 233 million pounds of dried milk, 100 million pounds of edible beans, 705 million pounds of refined cottonseed oil, 447 million pounds of butter, 428 million pounds of cheese.

Q. Would Congress have to act to offer food to China?

A. No. Public Law 480, Title II, authorizes the President to furnish food from surplus stocks to needy populations "without regard to the friendliness of their government."

Q. Is the President favorably disposed to such action?

A. It is hard to say. Food has been sent recently to Hungary and East Germany, and President Eisenhower has spoken as though he might consider such action in other places. On the other hand, the State Department in September said that it was "not inclined to recommend an official United States offer of food to the Chinese Communists at this time."

Q. Would the Chinese government accept the food if it were offered?

A. Possibly not. The State Department noted that Peiping had refused offers of aid from the Red Cross. There is much suspicion and distrust between our nations, and the Chinese might well suspect our motives. If the offer were repeated, however, patiently and without conditions, the chances are that eventually it would be accepted. Even if it were not accepted, the knowledge that it had been made would tend to ease the tension.

Q. Shouldn't the United States insist on supervising the distribution of whatever food is sent?

A. Absolutely not. Even though we suspect—as the State Depart-

ment does—that China is shipping food to Russia in return for "strategic materials," we must not attach any strings to our offer. Western "arrogance" in such matters has aggravated Asians—and other colored peoples—for generations: the assumption that they cannot be trusted to do as competent or honest a job as we.

Q. Is this not a job for such agencies as Church World Service and CARE?

A. These agencies, and others like them, are doing magnificent work in other areas, and perhaps in the future will be able to send help to China also. At present, however, private agencies are barred from sending food to China by both the Chinese and the American governments. Moreover, the emergency is on so large a scale that only the kind of aid the government could send would deal with it adequately.

Q. Do other countries need flood relief also?

A. Yes, and individuals and agencies should continue efforts to have food sent to them. Pakistan, for instance, has had disastrous floods this summer also, when the Brahmaputra inundated a third of East Pakistan's 54,000 square miles. Church World Service already is rushing food and medicine to this area. The worst situation, however, is China's, and this will be the hardest to deal with on the governmental level.

Q. Would there be political implications to an offer of food from the U.S.?

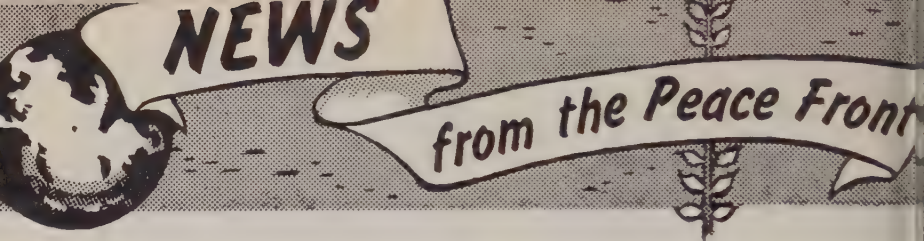
A. In any action involving the United States and Chinese governments there must inevitably be political implications. In the sense that such an offer reflects an American conviction that it is better to deal directly with the underlying problems of hunger and poverty than to have a war, such implications are all right. It is important, however, that the offer be made without political conditions: simply and clearly food offered to feed hungry people.

WHAT TO DO

to help get surplus food to China

- Organize a "Food for China" Committee.
- Talk to your friends and neighbors about it.
- Write to your editor and radio commentator, and to anyone else you think might influence public opinion. Ask your minister to preach on the subject.
- Place a prepared ad in your local paper.
- Mail poster-folder explaining campaign to everyone you can.
- And—as a dramatic method of arousing public interest—send a small package of any kind of grain or cereal to Pres. Eisenhower, with a note telling him that you want some of America's surplus food offered to China's hungry millions.

REMEMBER—HUNGER DOES NOT WAIT!



F.O.R. Celebrates 40th Birthday

Dinners, teas and receptions in almost fifty communities across the country mark the celebration during October and November of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Organized in England in the last days of December, 1914, the FOR took root in the United States on November 11 of the following year, and since has spread to more than thirty countries.

First of the celebrations was the dinner given by the Syracuse, New York, FOR at the University Methodist Church in that city on October 11. Dr. Horace Eaton, retired chairman of the English department at Syracuse University, recalled for the 120 members and friends attending, the organization of the Syracuse branch in 1917 under the stimulus of Norman Thomas, then secretary of the national group. Dr. Phillips P. Elliott, minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Brooklyn and a former national chairman of the Fellowship, was the principal speaker.

Another dinner at Rochester, New York, the following evening, featured Kirby Page, who recalled for the near-100 present, that he had joined the Fellowship in 1916. Alfred Hassler, editor of *Fellowship*, spoke for the national staff at both dinners.

Subsequent "birthday parties" in October came after this issue of *Fellowship* went to press. Celebrations scheduled for November are Baltimore (Nov. 1); Modesto and Sacramento, Calif. (2); San Francisco (3); Portland, Oregon (4); Seattle (5); Tacoma (6); New York (11); Philadelphia (13); Pittsburgh and Cleveland (14); Buffalo, N. Y. (15); Detroit (16); Ann Arbor, Mich. (17); Providence, R. I. (17 or 19); Westminster, Md., and Lansing, Mich. (18); Boston (18 or 19); Chicago (26).

India Betrays Gandhiji—Mme. Pandit

In a speech before 500 persons gathered at Salem Methodist Church, NYC, on the eve of Mahatma Gandhi's birthday this year, Mme. Pandit, India's First Lady, admitted that her country is betraying its Father. "We are forgetting the real things for which Gandhi stood," she said. "Unless India can recapture all this India will have abandoned Gandhi. The country as a whole is losing its grip on these values." Mme. Pandit did not indicate whether she was referring to the Indian government

specifically or to the people generally. She went on to say that although "the spirit of Gandhi is about as far removed from the spirit of America today as Gandhi is from Senator Knowland or Senator McCarthy," it is Americans who believe in world peace who must help India recapture Gandhi's spirit.

Mme. Pandit was the featured speaker at an Oct. 1 program sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality and built around the topic, What Gandhi Means to America. Louis Fischer, author of three books on Gandhi including the popular *Mahatma Gandhi: His Life and Message*, contributed most directly to the topic under discussion. Excerpts from his talk follow: "The nature of a struggle is determined by your attitude toward the antagonist. Gandhi fought without arms and he thereby disarmed the antagonist. . . . Gandhi had very few disciples and imitators; he had many followers. . . . With Gandhi, creed, deed and word were one. He was integrated. . . . The least of Gandhi's achievements was the liberation of India. He wanted much more. He wanted a free man in a free India. He never got it. But you measure a man not by what he achieved but by what he wanted."

British Quaker Here

Wilfred Wellock, noted pacifist economist, is now addressing U.S. audiences for A.F.S.C. Groups in the Northeast or Middle Atlantic wishing to engage him in Nov. or early Dec. should write Russell Johnson, 130 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass., or Mark Deibler, 20 S. 12th St., Phila.

W.C.C. Central Committee Urges CO Recognition

The Central Committee of the World Council of Churches has recommended the following provisions to be transmitted to Member Churches, with the request that they initiate and back legislative measures in their respective countries which are in the spirit of these provisions:

(1) Conscientious objection should be recognized, with the understanding that every CO has the duty to render equivalent service toward the well-being of the community; (2) in countries where legislation provides for the recognition of conscientious objection, CO's should make use of the provisions, including registration and other arrangements for "an orderly witness of conscience"; (3) a CO should be able to appeal to a civilian tribunal for classification; (4) the proceedings should be open to the public; (5) in no country shall the death penalty be imposed, in peace or in war, for the exercise of conscience; (6), (7), (8), (9) further details on classification.

(10) The conditions of alternative non-military service shall not be different from current conditions of similar non-military employment; (11) a CO performing alternative service shall be entitled to appeal to the tribunal if required to perform work which he deems to be of a *military* nature; (12) a CO shall suffer no discrimination in respect to reinstatement in his previous occupation after his period of service; (13) the "non-combatant" conscientious objector shall be entitled to receive official assurance that he will not be called upon at any time to bear arms.

Pacifists dog the heels of a Scots Band drummer on way to big peace rally at Trafalgar Square, September 4.

Pipe Band Leads H-bomb March in London

"We fooled 'em last week," said one veteran Londoner. "When they saw a Scots band coming down Tottenham Court Road they naturally expected to see a bunch of soldiers marching behind them. And what did they get? Pacifists!"

It made a change. To the skirl of the London Pipe Band over a hundred poster-carrying marchers trooped through central London to Trafalgar Square. Prominent among the placards they carried were several bearing the words—"Renounce the H-bomb."

That was the point of the early September rally, one of the best the pacifist movement has known in England since the war. Strollers, visitors from overseas, the curious, the idle, the interested joined the large group of people assembled at the foot of Nelson's column to hear some of Britain's leading pacifists argue the case for renunciation of atomic weapons. The demonstration was sponsored by the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee, uniting the Peace Committee of the Society of Friends, the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Peace Pledge Union and the Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ.

Technically Trained Chinese Students Cannot Leave U.S.

Thousands of Chinese students who have been engaged in the study of engineering, medical or natural sciences in the U.S. are being detained here against their will, reveals a letter twenty-six of them have just sent to the President, asking for revocation of the Immigration and Naturalization Service order that restrains them. Basically, the law is that the President can prescribe limitations and exceptions beyond the regular regulations for entry and departure (passports, exit permits, etc.).

The twenty-six students, some separated from wives and children left behind in China for as many as seven years, asked the President to apply the democratic principles they observed at first-hand here: "We feel that preventing us from leaving this country can at best be attributed to a temporary expediency, especially when the persons concerned are guilty of no crime and the sole reason for restraining their departure is their acquisition of technical training. We would respectfully point out that the technical training we have received involves no codes of secrecy; indeed, the spreading of scientific knowledge and technical know-how has been the very spirit of a great tradition of this country ever since its establishment."

1,700 Arrested in Indian Tax Refusal

Over 1,700 volunteers, including Dr. Rammanochar Lohia, have been arrested during the four months through early July for conducting a no-tax campaign in the state of Uttar Pradesh in India. Lohia is General Secretary of the Praja Socialist Party.

The agitation began in several districts of Uttar Pradesh (U.P.) for the reduction of heavy irrigation charges. They had been increased to the point where they were said to be the highest in India. It was claimed that there was no justification for the increase and that many of the assessees were unable to pay because their holdings were already uneconomic. The tax has been levied to pay the cost of constructing and maintaining the irrigation works. The peasants alone, through the tax, have been expected to pay these costs, although the whole population benefits in some way. It is also doubtful that increased agricultural production would result in a proportionate increase in agricultural income.

The peasants tried making representations to the government, but no heed was paid to them. Therefore, under the leadership of the Praja Socialist Party (PSP) they began a movement of non-payment of the irrigation tax. The PSP sanctioned the launching of the movement only in those districts where the villages pledged themselves to resist peacefully and to court arrests.

By the middle of May many had been arrested, including all leading members of the PSP in Etawah, U.P. By early June about a thousand of the peaceful resisters had been arrested. *Janata,* the PSP weekly magazine, commented at that time: ". . . the authorities are not yet in a mood to reconsider their position in the light of the justice of the agriculturalists' case. So more suffering is called for and will be duly taken."

The leaders of the movement in U.P. had tried all legitimate avenues for redressing their grievances before taking to satyagraha.

The number of those arrested has now increased greatly. The most well known of the prisoners is Dr. Lohia, arrested at Farukhabad after making speeches in connection with the struggle. The party Lohia heads is India's second largest; it polled about 12% of the votes in the last election.

In a speech before his arrest Lohia advised the people not to tolerate oppression and tyranny. People who bow before an internal tyrant lose their backbone and so become easy prey to foreign aggressors, he said. He admitted that neither he nor his party liked to agitate and court arrest, but on the other hand they could not tolerate injustice and maladministration.

New N. Y. Secretary Is Friends Minister

Kent R. Larrabee, a 36-year-old Friends minister, started work as Secretary of the New York F.O.R. on September 15. Before his service with the Quakers, Kent engaged in YMCA work in both Philadelphia and Syracuse (from which university he had graduated in 1940 with an A.B. degree in sociology and psychology). Mrs. Larrabee (Margery) is also a graduate of Syracuse U. and is an experienced teacher in religious education and day school.

12 CO's To Eat Irradiated Foods

Twelve conscientious objectors who volunteered for medical experiments as part of their alternative service are to be "guinea pigs" in tests to determine the effects of food exposed to atomic radiation. The tests are under the joint sponsorship of scientists from the University of Colorado and the Fitzsimmons Army Hospital in Denver.

The purposes of the tests are: (1) to better understand human nutritional needs; (2) to determine the nutritive value of foods exposed to ionizing radiation; and (3) to develop better methods of preserving perishables. Experimental laboratory animals have eaten such foods and shown no ill effects.

Anne Muste 1887-1954

Born sixty-seven years ago into a mid-western Dutch Reformed minister's family, Anna Huizenga might not have been widely known had she not met at Hope College and married the young theological student, A. J. Muste. But from then on, she became one of those unsung heroines of history who succeed in establishing an inviolate oasis for family and friends in the midst of the turmoil, anxieties and impermanences with which the life of a public figure such as A. J. Muste confronts them.

One never knew—there was no outward sign—whether she worried much, begrudged the long absences, resented the demands of countless others-than-family. Though she was often firm against intrusions on his time or health, there was never any doubt which came first, his business or her concerns. Usually they were identical; if they conflicted, she would wait. . . .

Anne Muste spent much of her life waiting, but from some deep source of patience, Dutch stoicism and unfailing love she surmounted the doubts and depressions which ensnare most sensitive mortals. Indeed, by a combined matter-of-factness, humor and faith, she seemed to transmute such doubts into a determined cheerfulness which bore her along and shamed the doubters, even while they poured their little tales into her sympathetic ear.

If A. J. had his movement, Anne had her family, and who would gainsay that she led her cause as greatly. Three nicer people (accounting for three spouses and four grandchildren) would be hard to find, and much of the charity and steadfastness of Anne Muste abides in all of them.

Brookwood College students used to sing a labor memorial song set to the second movement of Tchaikowsky's Fifth Symphony, in which the word "crucified" fell on a dubiously high note. But when Anne, who had a strong, clear soprano, sang with them, it always came out right. When I heard she had gone—ending her long struggle with a heart never fully recovered from rheumatic fever as a child—that stirring chorus came to mind. It is a good memory, and I believe many of her friends would like to remember Anne as one who always sang clearly the high note in life.

—Cara Cook

Design Without God

Survival Through Design, by Richard Neutra. Oxford University Press, New York, 1954. 384 pp., $5.50.

Said Socrates, "The unexamined life is not worth living." Says Richard Neutra in *Survival Through Design,* the unintentional life will shortly be impossible. If man wants to survive, he must do so by design.

"Man," he says, "is a tinkerer. He tinkers with his habitat, while other animals hold their peace with it. They survive by adjusting themselves to natural change during long biological ages—or they perish. Man may perish by his own explosive inventions. For an adjustment to them he leaves himself precious little time, and progressively less as his technological wizardry runs wild and rushes on. If he is to survive at all, it cannot be through slow adjustment. *It will have to be through design* more subtly considered and circumspect, through more cautious planning in advance."

What is design? "All its activity must be seen as the human way of furthering and continuing life, the life of the species." The mastodon had centuries to adjust himself to the advancing ice age. In our world, men lunch in New York and dine in Los Angeles. They fill their days with din, and their nights with neon. We must change our helter-skelter ways, or even more of us will go mad.

Can man plan his way out of his present desperation? Richard Neutra asks whether planning is even possible. He concludes it is. He says our houses, our cities, and our nations must recognize the importance of "psychological space," which is the dimension in which design works; and that the designer must take account of the biological truth about the nature of man. "Individual and social psychology will ultimately merge with brain physiology, and guide the designer in his observation and creation of response patterns . . . millions of manifold sense receptors determine what design can do for us . . . the design . . . deals primarily with nervous systems, and caters to them." The book concludes with an "Outline of a manifold experimentation," which suggests the factors of which science should provide knowledge to the conscientious designer.

A year ago I asked Richard Neutra if there were an architecture for peace, and he answered, "Of course." This book about his philosophy of design demonstrates why he thinks so.

The book fascinates me, illuminating as it does the intellect of a complex and learned man. It is a hard book; both the devious style and the occasional depth of the demand upon the mind of the reader

make it so. It is a vigorous proclamation that "beauty" may not be separated from "utility," that "truth is beauty" in fact.

Still, I feel Richard Neutra has left something out. He seems to say that given enough science, plus enough design, the biological beauty-truth about man *can* be known. He judges the insights of all the Socrates' as helpful but outmoded. He simply does not leave any room in his system of the universe for God.

Is it fair to ask that one of the world's great designers, writing deeply out of his life-long developed philosophy of design, should acknowledge the ultimate existence of mystery?

—HALLECK HOFFMAN

The Military Mind

The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor, by Rear Admiral Robert A. Theobald, U.S.N. Ret. Devin-Adair Co., New York, 1954. 204 pp., $3.50.

Since the first publication of this book in the April 2, 1954 *U.S. News and World Report*, it has become a controversial item with denials by public figures and a number of adverse reviews. After having read these denials and reviews, I still find the facts in the book so convincing that one is forced either to accept the thesis of the book or else believe that America's military and naval leaders are more stupid than the legendary Colonel Blimp.

Theobald's thesis is that President Franklin Roosevelt, General George Marshall, and other officials withheld information from the Hawaiian commanders. "This denial of information was a vital feature of enticing a Japanese surprise attack upon Pearl Harbor. If Admiral Kimmel and General Short had been given the knowledge possessed by the Washington authorities, the Hawaiian commands would have been alerted against an overseas attack. The Pacific fleet would have kept the sea during the first days of December 1941 until the issue of peace or war had been decided. With the highly effective Japanese espionage in Hawaii, this would have caused Tokyo to cancel the surprise attack."

Admiral Theobald not only surveys the political events by which Japan was progressively driven to attack the United States, but he details various secret Japanese codes which had been broken in Washington and which could only have been interpreted as a warning of war. One of the decoded Japanese messages ordered the Japanese Embassy and consulates in the U.S. to destroy their codes and other secret materials. The Admiral wrote of this: "Thus, when a nation orders her embassies and consulates in particular countries to destroy their codes, ciphers, code machines and files of secret correspondence, that action can mean only one thing—the close approach of war with those countries."

Probably the most serious indictment in the book is that directed against General George C. Marshall. The Admiral not only lists serious charges against Marshall but points out that certain pertinent "file copies in the War Department secret archives had been destroyed by orders of General Marshall."

Admiral Theobald correctly points out that no serious examination of General Marshall or Admiral Stark was made about a number of important points despite

he several "official" investigations which were held for purposes of voiding serious public criticism of he Administration and the Penta-on.

Even pacifists who are most sus-picious of the military will be hocked at revelations in this book. Admiral Theobald, in explaining ow General Marshall and Admiral Stark could have knowingly let the Pearl Harbor disaster and war take place without trying to prevent hem, writes:

". . . it must be understood that officers of the Army and Navy are trained throughout their profes-sional lives to obey implicitly every lawful order, no matter how distasteful it may be to them. Rigid adherence to this maxim is vital to that cohesion of action which is the primary requisite of the mili-tary art. Those untutored in the de-mands of war will undoubtedly be shocked at the thought of deliber-ately accepting the ship and per-sonnel losses that a surprise attack was certain to entail. That view-point loses sight of the fact that armies and navies exist to perform any action demanded of them in the interests of their country."

This lesson, that military men will do anything if ordered, is one that should be shouted from the housetops in the hydrogen age when one false move by a general or commander-in-chief could de-stroy civilization.

—John M. Swomley

Toward a Right "Regardless" Faith

Security and Responsibility, by Kathleen Lonsdale. Fellowship of Reconciliation, 29 Great James St., London, 1954. 32 pp., 25c.

The third Alex Wood Memorial Lecture was delivered on February 17, 1954 by an English Quaker who is wife, mother, and atomic scien-tist. The lecture touches many sub-jects: loyalty oaths, secrecy in science, the U.N., democracy vs. totalitarianism. Mrs. Lonsdale be-lieves that our "desire for com-munal safety or individual com-fort" has become an obsession that curtails our ability to take risks for others. "Character grows with the adventurous use of all one's faculties, and to prolong one's life to the uttermost is not the sole end of living." As a step in creating a desire to serve, she suggests con-structive alternatives to military service for which youth could vol-untarily enlist.

Several pages are devoted to an-swering the persistent question as to whether it is right to attempt to reduce mortality rates in already over-populated countries. "The kind of answer we give . . . re-veal(s) our fundamental attitude to humanity, and the nature of our belief about God. . . . We dare not condemn others to a fate we would not choose for ourselves or our loved ones."

In connection with slavery and child labor, "it was only when a few people became passionately convinced that *what was wrong could not possibly be necessary* (italics mine) that ways were found of changing the situation. I believe that we have to become passionately convinced that war is wrong. . . ."

Mrs. Lonsdale's answer to all our present social and international conflicts is eminently Christian. We should "become as little chil-dren," who need security but do not consciously seek it, because we have faith in our Father—a faith which does not mean "trying to

believe something regardless of the evidence" but "trying to do something regardless of the consequences."

—Eunice Goodfellow

IN BRIEF

McCarthy—the seed is in us, James E. Bristol. Pendle Hill pamphlet No. 76, 40 pp., 35c.

In this excellent pamphlet, the Director of the Community Peace Education Program of the AFSC shows how fear and our own attitude toward Communism are allies of McCarthyism. He calls for developing the God within us that it might become sufficiently visible to make an appeal to the totalitarians of both the left *and* the right.

We of Nagasaki, by Takashi Nagai. Duell, Sloan and Pearce, N. Y., 1951. 189 pp., $2.75.

This is the story of the bombing of Nagasaki as told by eye-witnesses who are members of the Roman Catholic Church in that city. The story is told by persons who fill in the account of the bombing with the physical and spiritual suffering which individuals and families experienced.

Halleck Hoffman is a Pasadena, Calif. business executive. *Eunice Goodfellow* is John Nevin Sayre's secretary.

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION OF FELLOWSHIP published monthly except August at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1954.

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Alfred Hassler, *Editor*

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 23rd day of September, 1954.

Harry Cohen

(SEAL)

(My commission expires March 30, 1955)

Whither A.C.L.U.!

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

It seems to me that Markham Bryant entered the columns of FELLOWSHIP through the back-door. (See "Toward Total Freedom" in Sept.) He flattered the pacifists, and you were hood-winked.

What evidence does any one need, Markham Bryant not excluded, to be convinced that the ACLU has failed to live up to its promise? Has she not lost almost every important battle for Civil Liberties during the last thirty years? If not, how come that, according to Bryant, "freedom is at its lowest ebb and fear at its highest peak" in this country today?

So long as ACLU continues to ignore, MacArthurism, McCarranism and McCarthyism will continue to flourish increasingly; CO's will continue to be persecuted because the ACLU's defense is without any sympathy to the defendants' cause; and the non-conformists will continue not only to be fired from their jobs, but will have a hard time getting hired.

But why all this? Is it not because ACLU refuses to make up her mind on the *principles* she is going to defend, or the legal claims she wishes to defend? Like an adolescent girl she wants to be equivocal all the time!

If ACLU is really a product of pacifist thinking in this country, as Bryant flatteringly points out, then it certainly is a sad commentary on the activities and thinking of the Baldwins and the Mustes and the Sayres, and the earlier they leave the work into more revolutionary hands, better would it be both for pacifism and civil liberties.

BRIJEN GUPTA
(Praja Socialist Party, India)
Wallingford, Pa.

Short Memory

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

How can a pacifist editor ignore or forget so much? M. P. Bryant in "Toward Total Freedom" (see Sept. issue) furthers the myth that the junior senator from Wisconsin fathered this witch-hunting in America. It was beginning in the 30's when Lawrence Dennis wrote his *Coming American Fascism* and Huey Long said, "America will go fascist fighting fascism." Joe is a piker compared to F.D.R. who signed the evacuation order which imprisoned 70,000 Americans because of their ancestry. (ACLU was a sad disappointment then, but Norman Thomas was not afraid.)

To say Einstein is the wisest and most compassionate of living men is certainly a dive down "the memory hole." Did he oppose the world war which has brought us to the brink of destruction by the very bomb he helped make? Some Jews feel he should have bargained with F.D.R. for a negotiated peace (when the Catholic Worker and George Hartman were) for the lives of their brother Jews under Hitler.

YONE U. STAFFORD
West Springfield, Mass.

Willing to Send Information

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I am very much in agreement with Robert Bates' letter in your September issue that all these things are badly needed in our movement. However, it sounds as if he is not aware of some of the things that have been done so far, or else he is not satisfied with the scope of their work, which is, of course, quite understandable.

For instance, in this area, the local FOR has co-sponsored meetings with the AFSC and the WRL. As for an international pacifist organization, he must surely know that there are several already! IFOR, WRI are the more well-known here, though, as far as I know they have not sponsored any underground pacifist movement in Russia.

I belong to several other groups that I think are fairly active in trying to "find the potential pacifist who hasn't heard of us." One, though very small in number, has members all over the world who persistently write letters to the editors of newspapers in their own city as well as other cities and countries. Another is a French group trying to start a French and international movement to have participation in wars voted on by the people, instead of by congress. I would be happy to send anyone further information on these groups.

STANLEY COBB
Altadena, Calif.

Correspondents Wanted

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I am twenty-one-year-old boy, and a student of Meiji Gakuin University. At school, we are organizing the Worldwide Correspondence Society through which we are corresponding with many different people all over the world. We wish to discuss our problems of peace and friendship all over the world. And Christianity, Communism, atomic bombs, world government, our Great Sin, Colonial policy, and many other problems.

I wish all over the world, every member of F.O.R. will write to our Society. We promise to answer all letters we get.

YOICHI OTA, *Sec'y*
World-wide Correspondence Society
Meiji Gakuin University,
Shirogane, Minato-ku,
Tokyo, Japan

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Broken Record

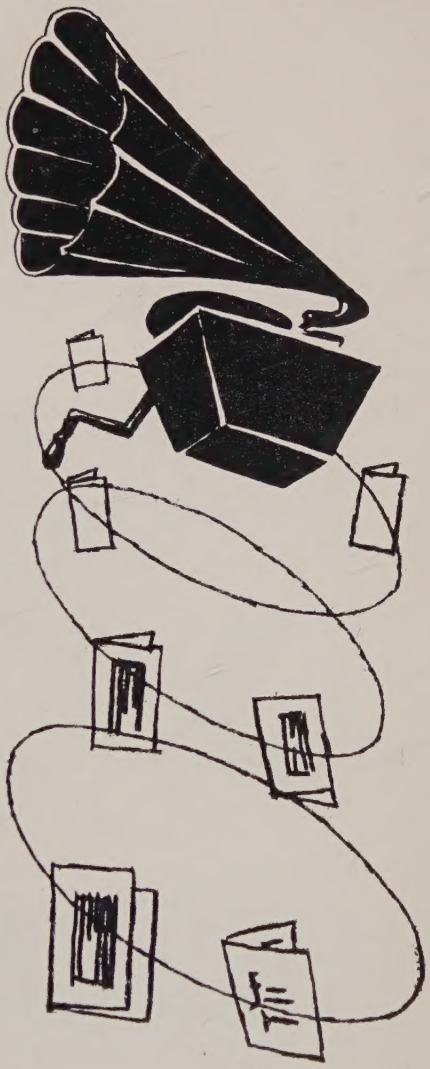
or

Here Is One Record We Don't Want to Speak and That Is That Each Year More People Get Acquainted With Our Christmas Cards Than the Year Previous

The other night I had a nightmare. Fellowship cards weren't selling. Everyone in the office was shouting at everyone else overflowing cartons of cards got under foot and into every mail basket, desk drawer, coat pocket. Like a record, jeering voices intoned: "cards not selling . . . not selling . . . they're no good . . . no good . . . nobody wants them . . . nobody wants them . . . nobody . . ." STOP!

• • •

Actually, in spite of the tricks of the subconscious, our 1954 Christmas cards are selling well. Commercial cards really cannot compete either in price or quality. We are reminded there are only 50 days until Christmas, so cards should be ordered now . . . should be ordered now . . . should be ordered now . . . should be ordered. . . .



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